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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-sixth session
Agenda items 45 and 150
QUESTION OF CYPRUS
THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 31 August 1992 from the Permanent Representative
of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to a letter dated 26 August 1992, addressed to you by the Permanent Representative of Turkey (with an annex) and circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 45 and 150, and of the Security Council (A/46/964-S/24490) in response to my statement in the General Assembly on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 24 August 1992.

The relevant part of that statement is as follows:

"The unfortunate and indeed tragic fact is that the odious and abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing" is not a new phenomenon, nor did it originate in Bosnia. We in Cyprus have had bitter experience in this regard. We have witnessed equally grave violations of international humanitarian law, as attested to by the European Commission of Human Rights, not only during the 1974 invasion but also in 1975 with the enclaved 20,000 Greek Cypriots in the Karpass, of whom now less than 500 remain.

"To quote from a major editorial from the respected Financial Times newspaper, on 16 July 1992, under the heading 'They must be stopped':

'A State recognized by most other States and admitted to numerous international bodies is being dismembered. Frontiers are being redrawn by war. Large numbers of people are being forcibly driven from their homes, with widespread killing. Such actions

would be intolerable at any time or place, but in many times and places have been tolerated. A particularly clear precedent was set in Cyprus in 1974. There, too, a neighbouring State, Turkey, intervened to protect a minority and used military force to secure an area for that minority's exclusive use, expelling from it all members of the majority community. There, too, the international community failed to take any effective action or reverse the process. But "stopping the fighting" is not enough if it turns out to mean, as in Cyprus, consolidating a cease-fire only after the aggressor has secured his objectives and then being content to urge the virtue of negotiations and concessions equally on both sides.'

"I shall refrain from going any further at this point, as the issues involved are fully documented in the records of past debates in the United Nations and I do not want to deflect attention from the item we are now considering.

"My Government's policy has been and continues to be to cooperate fully and with good will with the Secretary-General in sincerely seeking a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. President Vassiliou has amply demonstrated this policy in the past and very recently, and the same sincere effort will continue when the talks resume later this year. But it is essential for Turkey and all concerned to recognize that, if these talks are to bear fruit, the present inequitable division of territory cannot continue and the right of the displaced persons to return to their homes and property cannot be negated.

"This is a valid proposition in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it is an equally valid proposition in Cyprus. In the case of Bosnia, even Mr. Karadjic is reported to have declared over the weekend that 'all the refugees must be allowed to return home' and that 'all property handed over under duress will have to be returned'. Whether one accepts these declarations at face value or not, can there be any reasonable person who can disagree with these principles, and is it too much to hope that the same principles are also applicable to Cyprus?

"It is to be hoped that Turkey, which has taken a leading role in protecting those who suffer in Bosnia, will at long last play a constructive role also in the search for a just and lasting solution to the tragic problem my own country has been confronted with and suffered from for too long, a solution within the letter and spirit of the numerous applicable United Nations resolutions which so far have remained unimplemented. There should be no double standard."

This statement, and the quotation from the main editorial of 16 July 1992 of the authoritative British newspaper the Financial Times, are clear and require no elaboration. Far from revealing "deep-seated hostility to the Turkish Cypriots", as is falsely alleged, it is a factual and sad reminder of our experience of "ethnic cleansing" applied as a deliberate policy by Turkey

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in the occupied part of Cyprus following the 1974 invasion and its parallel to the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina today.

For want of valid arguments, in response to the substantive issue raised, the Turkish representative resorts to false accusations by proxy. I would not follow his example and resort to polemics.

But it should be pointed out that this is yet another instance of the abuse of the process of circulation of United Nations official documents by the Turkish Mission in the name of an entity recognized by no member of the international community, other than Turkey itself, and which was rightly described in Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983 and 550 (1984) of 11 May 1984 as "legally invalid" and a "secessionist entity", resolutions unanimously and significantly reaffirmed by the Security Council in resolution 774 (1992) as recently as 26 August 1992. It was by the same resolution 541 (1983) that the Security Council called upon all States "not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus". Yet Turkey persists in abusing the right to request the circulation of Security Council documents using the name of that unrecognized entity which the Security Council itself described and continues to regard as "legally invalid" and "secessionist".

As I stressed in my above-cited statement, my Government's policy has been and continues to be to cooperate fully and with good will with the Secretary-General in sincerely seeking a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. It is our hope that when the talks resume later this year Turkey will at long last play a constructive role in this regard. We have long held the conviction that a just and lasting solution to the tragic problem my country has been confronted with for too long would be to the benefit of all concerned, including Turkey, to the interest of all the people of Cyprus and for peace in our volatile region.

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter would be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 45 and 150, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Andreas J. JACOVIDES
Ambassador
Permanent Representative



General Assembly Security Council

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3 September 1992

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-sixth session
Agenda item 150
THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 2 September 1992 from the President of
the General Assembly to the President of the
Security Council

Last week, the General Assembly held a two-day debate on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which a large number of Member States from all the regional groups participated, resulting in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 46/242 on 25 August 1992 by an overwhelming majority.

In this regard, I consider it my duty to put on record and convey to Your Excellency, and to the distinguished members of the Security Council, my impressions of the prevailing view in the General Assembly, as reflected in its resolution 46/242 and in the statements of a majority of Member States (which I am sure you are also aware of as members of the General Assembly), and of the discussions I had with many Ambassadors, which I wish to summarize as follows:

1. While commending the role being played by the Secretary-General, the Security Council, the United Nations Protection Force, and other United Nations agencies, it was generally felt that much more ought to be done and can be done by the United Nations as a whole to find an urgent solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity, to put an end to the fighting and to the grave violations of international humanitarian law there.

The above is particularly reflected in preambular paragraphs 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18 and 19, as well as in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 46/242.

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2. Paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 46/242 reaffirms the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence. And it was generally felt by a great number of the members as expressed in their statements in the Assembly and in their direct discussions with me that the arms embargo precluded Bosnia and Herzegovina's inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, and that action should be taken to rectify this.

The above is particularly reflected in preambular paragraph 17 and paragraph 4 of the General Assembly resolution.

3. It was generally felt that the time factor is vital, it is working against the victims, and to the advantage of the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the support of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The above is particularly reflected in preambular paragraph 11 and paragraph 5 of the resolution.

In view of the above, I hope you and the distinguished members of the Security Council will find it appropriate, in the full spirit of the Charter, to take urgent action on General Assembly resolution 46/242, which represents the collective will of an overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Nations.

(Signed) Samir S. SHIHABI
President



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11 September 1992

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-sixth session
Agenda item 68
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 10 September 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit, enclosed herewith, the statement by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia regarding the death of the United Nations peace-keepers (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Statement of the Government of the Federal Republic
of Yugoslavia regarding the death of the United
Nations peace-keepers

(Belgrade, 10 September 1992)

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia strongly condemns the deliberate and premeditated attack on the humanitarian aid convoy for the suffering inhabitants of Sarajevo. The death of the French soldiers from the United Nations peace-keeping forces is a tragic epilogue of the irrational and cruel behaviour in war-shattered Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We should like to point out that the Federal Government has fully accomplished its obligations and has secured free and safe passage of the convoy on the road from Belgrade to Sarajevo. Therefore, the latest attack on the peace convoy for humanitarian aid demonstrates one of the most serious blows to the peace efforts of the Federal Government and the whole world. The Yugoslav Government points out that the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been started in the Conference on Yugoslavia in London, has been endangered. The Yugoslav Government considers that under no conditions should the peace process be stopped, since there are extremists who are not concerned about establishing the peace.

The Federal Government is asking all the involved sides in this war to do all that is in their power to ensure that such tragic events never occur again.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is expressing its most sincere condolences to the families of the French soldiers, to the Government of the Republic of France and to the command of the United Nations Protection Force.



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Agenda item 144

REVITALIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Note by the President of the General Assembly

General Assembly resolution 46/77, which was adopted by consensus on 12 December 1991, invited "the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General to undertake consultations to ensure that adequate staff is assigned and facilities provided to enable the President of the Assembly to carry out his functions and responsibilities and to report thereon as appropriate to the General Assembly".

On this basis, I initiated consultations with the previous Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and later with the new Secretary-General, His Excellency Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Both distinguished Secretaries-General expressed their willingness and desire to carry on the consultations and to have a satisfactory arrangement. However, I appreciate that the occupation of the former Secretary-General with the last few months of his mandate and the occupation of the new Secretary-General with the first few months of his mandate might not have enabled them to give the priority of consideration that this issue deserves.

The issue stands today where it began last year. The Office of the President of the General Assembly remains mostly dependent on the staff and support of the President's own government. This situation gives to the Office of the President a transitional nature, without the necessary institutional elements to enable it to play the full role envisaged for it by the membership of the United Nations - a major factor that could lead to the weakening of the General Assembly, the principal organ of the Organization.

After a full year's experience of the privilege of undertaking this responsibility, I feel more convinced than ever that the minimum framework necessary to give the Office of the President, which is at the centre of the

activity of the General Assembly, the necessary continuity remains vital. I should add that for future Presidents, and within the limits of the regular budget of the United Nations, a modest financial allowance should be accorded to the President's Office to meet the needs of fulfilling basic administrative and official travel expenses and hospitality requirements, in addition to other auxiliary expenses that could accrue.

I believe that it is unfair that a national Government that pays its assessed contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations should also have to cover the expenses of the Office of the President of the General Assembly, which serves the United Nations as a whole, especially as this might handicap a President of the Assembly whose country might feel financially constrained to bear the extra expenditures incurred.

I leave this matter for the General Assembly and the next President, hoping that this groundwork I have undertaken will be able to achieve a satisfactory conclusion that the General Assembly and the United Nations deserve.



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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 11 September 1992 from the Chargé
d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of
Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to the letter of Dr. Mario Nobile, Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to you on 27 August 1992 (A/47/242), requesting that an additional item be included in the agenda of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, entitled "International cooperation and assistance to alleviate the consequences of war in Croatia and to facilitate its recovery".

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 68.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Regarding the letter dated 27 August 1992 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations, Dr. Mario Nobilo, to the Secretary-General, requesting that an additional item be included in the agenda of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, entitled "International cooperation and assistance to alleviate the consequences of war in Croatia and to facilitate its recovery", the following considerations should be taken into account.

The attached explanatory memorandum to the above-mentioned letter indicates that the war in the Republic of Croatia is a result of "an aggression by Serbian insurgents and the so-called Yugoslav People's Army - JNA", which is absolutely not true. Indeed, it is common knowledge that problems arose in Croatia in 1990 after the new Government of the Republic adopted a new Constitution which, in comparison to the previous one, erased the Serbian people in Croatia as one of the two constituent peoples of the Republic.

Parallel with this and under numerous and diversified pressures on Serbs, the Croatian Government resorted to illegal imports of large amounts of weapons used to arm the Croats - who belong to the ruling HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) party - and began its pogrom-style actions against the Serbian population (Plitvice, Pakrac, Borovo) on religious and State holidays. This reinforced the Serbian people's belief that Croatia's ruling party was preparing another genocide of the Serbs like the one carried out on them half a century ago by the pro-Nazi Ustashi "NDH" (Independent State of Croatia). The danger of a new genocide was even more imminent because the then and current President of Croatia openly called for genocide in his book "The Wanderings of Historic Reality", published in 1989 just before he came into office:

"Genocide is a natural phenomenon, in harmony with social and God's mythical nature. Genocide is not only permitted but is advisable, and the All-Mighty Jehovah even orders it whenever it is useful for the survival or restoration of the kingdom of the chosen people or for the preservation and dissemination of His one and only proper faith."

Hence, the Serbian people began to fight the armed pogroms against it; the response of the Croatian Government was to introduce ever larger police forces and subsequent paramilitary units, which had been formed in the meantime, along with the increasingly widespread practices of forced "ethnic cleansing" of the territories inhabited by Serbs.

For this reason, the highest authorities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where Croatia had also been represented, decided to engage the JNA also to keep the warring parties separated until a political settlement was reached. However, the Croatian side, trying to avoid any political settlement, continuously intensified the fighting and resorted to

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secession in order to be able to legalize and increase arms imports as an independent State, as well as to have "a free hand" for its final showdown with the Serbian people.

After all, the protection of the Serbian population who defended their homes and territories was the reason for the deployment of the United Nations peace-keeping force which was named after its protection function as the "United Nations Protection Force" (UNPROFOR).
